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THE ANALYTIC AGENT IN GERMANIC

1. In the morphological classification of languages, as distinct from their geneological aspect, the concept of Analysis has with the lapse of time undergone a thoroughgoing modification. From being regarded as a highly regrettable organic degeneration, this gradual discarding of the older inflectional accretions in favor of single word-forms qualified by a series of prepositions and auxiliaries, is now considered by every advanced philologist to have been a decided progress in language. This much must however even now be emphasized: the analytic process is not to be thought of as a providential blessing in disguise. That quality of free and easy combination of short linguistic units which sets modern English, for instance, at a radical variance with the frequently unwieldy vocables of the classical tongues, would never have evolved from the older synthetic prototypes, had not time and place both been propitious and necessary for such alteration. Call Analysis an 'economy of expression' or a 'law of specialization,'¹ it is simply a species of linguistic struggle for existence, a natural tendency to secure greater ease and precision in discourse and document.

2. A single glance at the declensional apparatus of Old English will bring home the ineffectiveness of a system where there is not only an absence of that rigid application of a given suffix to a given idea which characterizes Latin in the large, but even the possibility exists of a definite case-function being expressed at the same moment by various conflicting devices. In Latin itself declension by the modification of final syllables proved in time equally wanting, and this not alone for the commonly assigned grounds of phonetic corruption and analogic instinct, but rather because the available case-forms were too few in number to express all the relations natural to the human mind,—a feat, it will be recalled, which even Indo-Iranian with eight cases failed of performing. For the resulting incongruities Language offered that spontaneous tendency toward its combined ideal of least resistance and greatest efficiency, which we call Anal-

¹ Bréal, *Essai de Sémantique*, Chap. I.

ysis. More specifically, in the field of noun-accidence prepositions were resorted to in place of the confused case-terminations, and self-sufficient constants substituted for dependent variables.

3. Nor is there need to conjure up a mental picture of a mad scurry on the part of devoted linguists, at the very end of their synthetic resources, to discover new devices that might replace case-forms destroyed through popular ignorance. The history of Latin demonstrates that analysis is possible at the very period a language is enjoying the Golden Age of its literature and that, when the terminations are finally set aside altogether, it is for the reason that they had long outgrown their serviceability. So that if in expressions like *ad Rōmam* and *dē Rōmā*, GREGORY OF TOURS felt the full force resident in the prepositions, it is no wonder that he did not keep the endings distinct, nor that he often joined *cum* to the accusative and *per* to the ablative.² In the Germanic dialects such a natural reduction of the original case-forms, followed at first by the customary amalgamation of case-functions, and then by the employment of prepositions, must have occurred sometime during the period antedating their literatures, for in the latter the predominant mode of denoting syntactic relations is the analytic. At the side of modal and material instrumentals, for example, which persist longest in use, we find in the earliest documents prepositional locutions of all kinds displacing synthetic equivalents. The preposition thus becomes a pivotal point in the further development of these dialects.

4. The Agent, i. e. the person functioning as the logical subject of passive expressions, seems to have been one of the first categories in Germanic to require the elucidative services of prepositions. Altogether there are but spare remnants in WULFILA, the BEOWULF and the EDDIC poems of that prepositionless form of agency which, judging by the testimony of related Indo-European languages, must have been characteristic of the older stages of the Germanic dialects. But even these remnants furnish a sufficient and con-

² Bonnet. *Le Latin de Gregoire de Tours*, Paris, 1890, p. 521 ff.

clusive evidence. A few examples are given here: GOTHIC—*Mt.* 6, 16, *ei gasaihvaindau mannam fastandans* ὅπως φαῶσιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις νηστεύοντες; *Rom.* 7, 10 *bigitana warþ mis anabusns* καὶ εὐρέθη μοι ἡ ἐντόλη; *Mk.* 10, 12 *jah liugada anþaramma* καὶ γαμηθῇ ἄλλω. ANGLO-SAXON, with suitable emendations offered or adopted,—*BEOW.* l. 12 *þǣm eafera wæs æfter cenned geong in geardum*, 1068 *Finnes eaferum hæleð Healf-Dena feallan scolde*, 2957 *þā wæs æht boden Swēona lēodum, segn Higelāce*; *CÆDMON, Gen.* 1765 *fromcynne folde weorðeð þīne gefylled*; *Sat.* 558 *þā wæs on eorðan ēce drihten folgað folcum*; *Dan.* 92 *metode gecorene*, 150 *se wæs drihtne gecoren*. OLD NORSE—*EDDA, Vm.* 25, 2 *vas Nqrvi borin, HH.* II 8, 6 *því vas . . . mér litt steikt etit, Ghv.* 10, 2 *vask þrimr verum vegin at húsi, Hm.* 7, 2 *ofnar vólundum*, and numerous examples in the prose and poetic literature before the preposition *af* finally obtained full sway. For OLD HIGH GERMAN, besides *OTFR.* 1, 5, 23 *thū scalt beran einan . . . fatere giboranan ebanēwigan*, only few parallels can be drawn upon with any degree of confidence, cf. §37 ff.

5. These and similar instances, the character of whose datival forms had not before been deciphered with satisfaction—the general opinion held of them being that they all were, in and for themselves, a mere subtype of the dative of personal interest, despite the fact that there were found certain well-defined examples which even on the closest scrutiny refused to reveal a connotation of '*commodi vel incommodi*'—the writer collected and discussed elsewhere.³ As will be seen by reference to the pages cited, an attempt was made there to define and delimit the nature of this hitherto neglected functional type of the Germanic dative and to locate its provenience on the basis of such cognate languages as Indo-Iranian, Balto-Slavic, Latin and Greek; accordingly a distinction was drawn in theory and practice between the real dative of agency that could reasonably be traced back to a former dative of interest and what with due regard to the syncretistic peculiarities of

³ *The Dative of Agency. A chapter of Indo-European case-syntax.* Columbia diss. 1913, pp. 81-113.

the Germanic Dative, was termed the dative-instrumental of agency and derived from an original instrumental case expressive of association. The purpose of the present pages is to form a pendant to the larger discussion in the treatment of the later analytic substitutes for these synthetic agents in Germanic.⁴

6. It will not be entirely useless in view of current misconceptions one still encounters in manuals, to preface this account of the exchange of prepositional phrases for the unaided case-forms, with a few words concerning the prepositions themselves. Originally they were merely adverbs, designed to clear up the meaning of the verb through some special explanatory circumstance. The case-form which in later times, after the change of the adverb into a preposition, came to be correlated with the latter, was then as yet actually referred to the predicate and received its fixation directly from its relation to this predicate. Subsequently, by dint of the constant juxtaposition in this triverbal combination, the adverb was placed by the side of the noun—became adnominal—in order to make the force of the substantive itself clearer. Its adverbial quality thus dwindled down in the same proportion as linguistic consciousness came to regard a given function as fully expressible by a given case-form associated with a certain adverb. But this means that the adverb is no longer solely an element that strengthens but one that also determines, ‘governs’ the case-form. Withal there is a parallel process taking its origin from the whilom close connection existing between verb and noun, in that the same preposition may ‘govern’ any of the various forms that used to depend on the general meaning of the verb,—witness Greek, where it is often the case that determines the sense of the preposition.

7. That many of the Indo-European languages present the use of prepositional phrases to express agency, is to be expected as a direct product of the analytic tendencies distinguishing them. But, although we are permitted to associate

⁴With regard to the method of presentation, the citation in any particular case of but a few instances is intended to convey the writer's satisfaction that such instances are typical enough to need no amplification.

the prepositionless locutions with the older or synthetic stages of a language, age is merely a relative term. Thus already in AVESTAN, we find an auctorial preposition like *hača*, which takes the ablative, originally for the denotation of spatial origin, acting to all intents like Latin *ab*, as V. 19, 6 *barəθryāt hača zāviši* 'a matre vocatus sum'.⁵ LATIN *ab* c. *ablativo* goes back to the earliest times. LITHUANIAN *nũ* 'from' with genitive, as in *mótina nũ kũdikio mylimà* 'the mother beloved of her child' is again of modern date and may even be a Germanism, 'von', imported by bilingual Germans.⁶ The corresponding Greek preposition, *ὑπό* c. *gen.* is Homeric and even varies with *ὑπό* c. *dat.* as Π 490 *ὑπὸ Πατρόκλη κτεινόμενος*,—a dative which has locative antecedents. On the other hand, modern English, with a highly analytic character, has not yet lost all the earmarks of synthesis, cf. the co-existence of the inflected genitive with the *of*-phrase of possession.

8. The genuine Indo-European dative noun-case does not seem to have originally been connected with any preposition. The so-called 'dative' case-forms therefore in Germanic which we find combined with them must be referred to the locative, instrumental or ablatival constituents of said 'dative',—what is functionally so termed being nothing but an instrumental in the plural⁷ and partly locative, partly instrumental in the singular.⁸ (The only Germanic prepositions to be connected with the real dative force are Pregermanic **nāhw[ō]*, Got. *nēhv[a]*, Ags. *nēah*, OHG. *nāh*, and **to*, the latter of which must have attained its directive force in the dialects themselves and thus become attached to the dative as the natural case of reference.) The following is the list of the authorship prepositions considered in this light, Gothic, Anglo-Saxon, Old Norse, Old High German and Old Saxon being drawn upon for illustration:

(a) PREPOSITIONS OF REST—**bi*, **at*, **in*;

⁵ Reichelt, *Awestisches Elementarbuch*, p. 276.

⁶ Kurschat, *Gramm. d. lit. Sprache*, p. 393.

⁷ Streitberg, *Unger. Gramm.* p. 232.

⁸ Dieter, *Laut- und Formenlehre*, p. 537.

(b) PREPOSITIONS OF MOTION,

- (1) separation—*fram, *af, *fon(a), *uz;
- (2) accompaniment—*miði, *wip;
- (3) direction—*purh, *to.

9. A schematic survey of the uses of these particles brings out the fact that GOTHIC employs the prepositions *fram*, *af*, *us* and *pairh*, ANGLO-SAXON and ENGLISH *purh*, *fram*, *of*, *be*, *æt*, *with* and *to*, OLD NORSE, regularly *af*, HIGH GERMAN *fon(a)*, (OS. *fan[a]*), *duruh* and even *mit*. Of these dialects, Anglo-Saxon and English lend themselves best to the study of auctorial relations, for the reason that, while in Ags., as we have seen, we are still fortunate to find purely inflectional means used for our purpose, the later course of the language is exceptionally rich and varied in the choice of suitable prepositions antedating the modern *by*. The idea of agency itself, as relating to persons, is rare in BEOWULF; passive expressions are frequent enough, but the terseness of the poetic style seems easily able to dispense with such defining elements as agency offers. One important circumstance, however, must be noted, viz. that none of the authorship examples found are of the variety of prepositional locutions; it is only after CÆDMON, notably beginning with CYNEWULF, that the tendency is entirely toward the analytical. So in *Elene*, a typical poem, all personal agency is expressed by *purh c. acc.*, which in CÆDMON is not yet used in such a sense. Example, *El.* 775, *sē-ðe on rōde wæs ond purh Marian in middangeard ācenned weard in cildes hād*,—which should illuminate *Beow.* 12, or *El.* 1058 *purh gāstes gife gecorene*, which stands in a similar relation to the dative-instrumental in CÆDMON'S *Dan.* 92, cf. §4. This use of *purh*, certainly a derivative of its function of denoting the intermediate person—the sole one to-day—is at this time distinct as yet from the latter, and expresses the person immediately operative, in the same manner as *by* to-day introduces the logical bearer of the passive action.

10. The persistent force of this preposition carries it in this function well up to Old English. It is a fascinating but also a very intangible pursuit to observe how later Anglo-Saxon—sometimes termed Half-Saxon or Old English—and

Middle English present simultaneously several prepositions of radically different basic connotation to render this one idea of agency. Thus, although as late as *Town M.* 282 we find *this dede thrughe God is done*, the competition of *fram* dates back to much earlier times. In *BEOWULF*, to be sure, *fram* has only a local signification, as l. 110 *mancynne fram*. Socin's emendative insertion of *fram* in l. 1068 *Finnes eafterum hæleð Healf-Dena feallan scolde*, whilst of interest in that the editor felt the need of some more forceful expression, is out of question not only because the bare dative-instrumental already denotes the desired logical subject, but because it would add to *BEOWULF* the sole *fram* in the sense of the personal agent, when diligent search fails to discover it in *CÆDMON* and but rarely in *CYNEWULF*. Thus I cannot consider as satisfactory the only adducible examples in the latter's *Elene*, for l. 701 is simple means and 1141 purely locative, 190 *swā fram Siluestre lārde wæron*, auctorial in intent, permits the locative force to be still distinctly felt, cf. German 'von seiten'. There are altogether six other instances in Ags. poetry, to wit *CYNEWULF*'s *Crist* 1617 *scyle from his Scyppende āscyred weorðan*; *Soul and Body* 46 *ic wæs gæst on þē from gode sended*, is really locative; *BOET. Metra* 20, 245 *swā him lūfed wæs from þām ælmihtigan*; *Psalms* 67, 23 *from þām þine gangas wæron gesewene*; *ibid.* 113, 23 *wesað gē fram gode geblētsade*; *Pater Noster*, 3, 87 *þē fram wīfe and fram were wurdon ācenned*⁹—which I would, again, recommend as an aid to the interpretation of *Beow.* l. 12 *þām* and 1357 *him*.

11. *Fram*, in turn, receives already in Old English a competitor in *of*. In *ÆLFRED*, to be sure, *fram* is yet the rule, as *Be.* 3, 14 *he wæs fram eallum monnum lufad*, 477, 31 *Albanus ic eom geciged fram minum ylðrum*,¹⁰ but *of*, even as exception, is quite often in evidence, so that there is laid

⁹ Cf. pp. 2 and 21, Wullen, *Der synt. Gebrauch der Präpositionen fram, under, ofer, þurh in d. ags. Poesie.* I. *fram, under.* Diss. Kiel, 1908.

¹⁰ Cf. Harstrick, *Untersuchungen über die Präp. bei Alfred.* Diss. Kiel. 1890, p. 13.

the beginning of an even fluctuation between the two prepositions. Witness in ÆLFRED himself, *O.* 154, 28 *seo burg wæs getimbred of Læcedemonium*, but *O.* 164, 10 *sio wæs getimbred from Elisan þæm wifmen*, with no perceptible degree of difference. The usage of ÆLFRIC and of the BLICKLING HOMILIES of the 10th century is similar,¹¹ *Bl. H.* 187, 20 *forþon þu ær gecoren wære fram gode* 'electus es a Domino', cf. CÆDMON, *Dan.* 92 for pure dative-instrumental; ÆLFRIC II, 4, 48 *he wæs gecnyssed fram sumum gepancum*, 'pulsatus est a quibusdam cogitationibus', but *Bl. H.* 233, 26 *ic geseo þæt þas broþor synd geswencede of ðisse sæwe hreonesse*. Only in one instance can we establish a fast demarcation, viz. with verbs of begetting, in that ÆLFRED and ÆLFRIC prefer *of* to the *from* of BL. HOM. So. *Bl. H.* 93, 28 *þæt hi næfre næron acennede from fæder ne from meder*, but ÆLFRED, *Be.* 586, 12 *of Fæder acennedne* and ÆLFRIC I, 10, 2 *hū ure hælend crist acenned wæs of þæm halgan mædenne marian*. It will not be amiss to remember that auctorial *þurh* is at this time still 'constructional', *Bl. H.* 9, 5 *heofonrices duru seal þurh þe ontened béon*.

12. Certainly less frequently used in Old English than *fram*, *of*¹² begins to gain ground on the other preposition in SAXON CHRONICLE *E*, *F* and the interpolations of *A*,¹³ so that by CHAUCER and onward *from* falls back exclusively to its original locative signification, as II. 83 *from Pluto sent, at requeste of Saturne*; *Cov. Myst.* 185 *I am sent fro God*; SHAKSPERE, 3 *Hy* 6, 2, 1 *he was lately sent from your kind aunt*. As a result partly of this restrictive change, we observe *of* gaining the foreground and becoming the predominating auctorial preposition of Middle English, e. g. *Rich. C. de L.* 2596 *he was aspyyd (warnyd) off a spyre*, CHAUCER, II.

¹¹ Cf. Fischer, *Der synt. Gebrauch der Partikeln of und from in Ælfric's Heiligenleben und in den Blickling Homilien*, Diss. Leipzig, 1908.

¹² Reference may be made here to Jacobsen, *Der synt. Gebrauch der präp. for, geond, of und ymb in d. æ. Poesie*, Diss. Kiel, 1908.

¹³ Cf. Bødtker, *Critical Contributions to Eng. Syntax*, I. Christiania, 1908, p. 6.

226 *I wolde not of him corretted be*, MAUN. 5 *she was buried of the aungels*.

13. *By*, the preposition that gained the final upper hand, is rarely found in *ME.*; on the other hand, in *MnE.* *be* seems to be the regularly employed particle, whilst *of* appears but infrequently. In the *Cov. Myst.* we find both 'his sowle of develis is al to-torn' and 'alle thyng xal be wrowth be me'; MAUNDEV. 15 'that cytee was destroyed by hem of Grece'; CHAUCER, VI. 310 'by the, lady, y-maked is the pes bitwix angelis and man'. The conquest of *by* over *of* and the ever-recurrent *purh* is well known. What is not so generally disseminated, however, is that *by* had two other competitors arrayed against it, namely *ME. with* and *ME. to*. A continuant of the OE. *mid* after the latter merged into *wið*—well before CHAUCER, as there is no single instance of *mid* in his works—*with* assumes the force of agency in Middle English, as CHAUCER, II, 335 *and whan the bed was with the prest i-blessid*, 184 *that every wight was with the lioun frete*, WYCLIFFE, *Lk.* 7, 24 *reed wawid with the wynd*, Ags. *mid winde*. As for *to*, cf. CHAUCER II. 71 *to whom bothe heven and erthe is seene*, IV. 262 *and his comynge unwise is tevery* (=to every) *wight*, SHAKSPERE, *I am cabin'd, cribbed, confin'd, bound in to saucy doubts and fears*. The gradual rise of *by* over all these variants and the present restriction of *of* to instances where the verb denotes a perception or knowledge rather than actual activity—so that to-day Shakspearean 'unwhipped of justice' *As.* II. 1, 50 or 'he is received of the most pious Edward', *H.* 4, 3, being notions of external influence upon the person affected, are as impossible as Froissart's '*cil furent encore rencontré de chiaus de Laon*' is in modern French—belong to the domain of more recent syntax.

14. None of the other Germanic dialects present a line of chronological development similar to that we have given in our hasty sketch of ENGLISH. Neither GOTHIC nor OLD HIGH GERMAN evidence any regular progressive tendency in this regard. NORSE has but one auctorial preposition, *af*. This word is not yet found in the Eddic poems in the function of a logical subject of passive verbs. The two examples sometimes cited are unreliable: *Gþr.* II. 34, 2 *þann*

munk kjósa af konungum ok þó af nǫpjum naupug hafa can be with ease interpreted in the light of the original local signification of the preposition, 'though coerced on the part of my relatives,' or even causally, 'him will I, even though constrained, choose among kings and have because of my relatives'; similarly must be construed *Hdl.* 43, 3, where we likewise have *af* combined with an adjective, *varþr Loptr kvipogr af kono illre* 'because of the woman', somewhat like MHG. *sî wart swanger bî ir bruoder*, *Greg.* 229. This complete absence of *af* with passives in the early stage of Norse literature represented by the Edda¹⁴ will rule out, for instance, the Rask-Copenhagen ed.-Munch-Ettmüller interpretation of the Cod. Reg. version of *Gþr.* II. 4, 4 *öll voru sǫpuldýr sveita stokkin ok of vaniþ vási und vegǫndum as af vegǫndum*, or Bugge's exchange of *af* for *at* in *Ls.* 34 *gisls um sendr at goðom*. The unaided dative-instrumental (or the *dat. commodi > dat. auctoris*) alone expresses agency in the Eddic poems. In the subsequent literary monuments however *af* is the regular device thus employed, perhaps partly due to Latin influence filtering down to popular usage through the medium of the learned style;¹⁵ e. g. *Hom.* 40, 12 *hér doemask opt góðir af illum, enn í oðru lífi fyridoemask ávalt illir af góðum*, *Hkr.* 542, 35 *varð mjök búizt af skyndingu*, *Mariusaga*, 904, 11 *hann var þangat færdr af tveim ungum mönnum*.—It is in order now to explain some of the more particular features of the preceding survey, especially the semantic changes whereby the various prepositions came to acquire their function of agency.

15. Too much stress cannot be laid on the fact the personal agent is merely a derivative of some other functional type having a basic connotation essentially cognate with its own. For the synthetic expression of this agent Delbrück has inti-

¹⁴ Gebhardt, too, in his *Beiträge zur Bedeutungslehre der altwest-nordischen Präpositionen*, *Diss. Leipzig*, 1896, fails to produce any good example. Surely *Hym.* 38, 5 *hver af hraunbúa hann laun um fekk*, p. 84, cannot seriously be offered as an instance of personal agency.

¹⁵ Falk og Thorp, *Dansk-Norskens Syntax*, p. 170.

¹⁶ *Syntaktische Forschungen*, V. 135, and *Vergleichende Syntax*, I. 268.

mated in the case of the Sanskrit *kartar*,¹⁶ that it was from the instrumental of means with an active verb that the instrumental of agency with the passive had risen, i. e. that to a great extent the personal agent owes its provenience to the material instrument with which a deed is accomplished. The distinction, I imagine, would be somewhat that between living beings and inanimate objects, since persons as well as objects, lifeless or personified, may be thought of as instruments of action, cf. SANSKRIT *agnē jayati tvāyā dhānam* 'he attains through thee, Agni, all good.'¹⁷ That this is quite as logically permissible in the passive as in the active construction, stands to reason; so that an example like 'he is praised by the singers' is but a natural step from 'he is praised with, by words'.

16. That this step is not the only one separating the two extremes must also be clearly understood. The idea of causality is so very nearly bound up with that of mere instrumentality that very often no firm division is possible between them: a spiritual something, an event, a circumstance, an abstraction can also serve as the means. In GOTHIC *dauþau afdaup-jaidau*, Mk. 7, 10, or HOMERIC φερόμεν ὅλοοις ἀνέμοισιν, φ 524, or SLAVIC *tristī vĕtromŭ dvižema* Lk. 7, 24, καλαμος ὑπὸ ἀνέμου σαλευόμενος, we can no more speak of material instrument; they are instances of a dematerialized, personified instrument of action, the nearest step to the personal agent itself. Other examples may be given, GOTHIC—*gasiglidaī waurþuþ ahmin gahaitis* τῷ πνεύματι τῆς ἐπαγγελίας Eph. 1, 13; ANGLO-SAXON—*Beow.* 3117 *þonne stræla storm strengum gebæded*, (1018 *Heorot innan wæs frēondum āfylled*); OLD NORSE—*dýrkalfr doggo slungenn*, HH. II. 37, 3, *í garð þanns skriþinn vas innan ormum* 'perreptatum anguibus', Akv. 34, 2. A series of gradations might then thus be erected.

(a) material means, pure and simple as let us say, LATIN '*myrto vinctus et ipse caput*,'

(b) personal instrument, intermediary, as '*non per me nunc hoc locutum*'

(c) personified means, often of causal tenor, as (of Troy) '*tardaque nocturno tela retexta dolo*';

¹⁷ Brugmann, *Grundriss*² II, 526.

(d) personal agent, as '*Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.*'

It will be seen that in the following discussion the development of the analytic agent may to a great extent be subsumed under this natural scheme.

17. PREPOSITIONS of rest: (1) *bi¹⁸—GOTHIC *bi*, AGS. *bi*, *be*, OHG. *bi*; SKR. *abhí*, OBg. *obŭ*—is originally a local preposition denoting proximity. 'at', 'near', 'at the side of', as *Beow.* 2538 *arās bī ronđe oretta* 'arose the champion by his shield'. Neither High German nor Gothic seem to have expanded this meaning into agency. Instrumentality in a higher sense may be found in GOTHIC, as 2 *Cor.* 12, 7 *jah bi flusnai andhuleino ei ni ufarhafnau* τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τῶν ἀποκαλύψεων, but I could not locate a personal agent with passives. In HIGH GERMAN, too, there are not only local instances like *Parz.* 310, 11, *si gieng im bī*, but decisively causal relations, *Notker Cap.* 353 *Alcmene in guan be Jove*, *Nib.* 622, 2 *si hete bī Gunther einen sun getragen*, *Wigal.* 1023 *si wart swanger bī im eines kindes*,—ideas since entrusted to 'von', just as English *by* auctorial developed from *by* local. Nor is the intermediate person absent, *Not.* 77, 49 *scaden santa er in be dien tiefelen*, *Iwein* 132 *si sande bī ir dan vrischiu cleider*, but for a full evolution we must look to English.

18. Einkenel in his *Streifzüge*¹⁹ gives credit to the influence of Old French *par* for the auctorial use of *be*, 'Im AE (he means Anglo-Saxon) ist von diesem Gebrauche kaum ein Spur zu entdecken. Dagegen ist altfranz. *par* im vermittelnden wie unmittelbar ursächlichen sinne sehr gebräuchlich, und daher wird auch wohl der ME. und NE. gebrauch des *by* stammen.' Accordingly an OF. *que ia par toi n'iert reconté*, *Chev. Lyon* 5127 should be the source of the modern 'it is related by him.' That this view is one-sided, is reasonably well proven by facts bearing upon our above categories. Undeniably Thorpe's insertion of auctorial *bi* into *Beow.* 1068 *Finnes* <bi> *eaferum hæleð Healf-Dena feallan scolde* is,

¹⁸ Of non-Germanic cognates only a few are given, in the Germanic dialects only those discussed are represented.

¹⁹ *Streifzüge durch die me. Syntax*, Münster, 1887, pp. 123 and 132.

as I have elsewhere remarked,²⁰ entirely premature; at the same time we find already in Old English (a) *be* used to designate material and advanced means, *Mt.* 4, 4 *ne leofað se man be hlāfum ānum*, *Lk.* 6, 44 *ælc treow ys be his wæstme oncnāwen*, so *Mt.* 7, 20; then ÆLFRED, *Bo.* 29 *hangað nacod sweord ofer þam hlāfde be smalan þræde*, also *C. P.* 168, 15; *Bl. Hom.* 101, 5 *gesælig bið mæg hine sylfne be þære bysene læren*,²¹ 161, 5 *be þissum (weorcum) we witan magon*, 209, 35 *be heora handum gebundene*, *Cod. Exon.* 118, 23 *bi hwon scealt þu lifgan*, *Laz.* 10501 *he doep þe wel to writen ba bi worden and bi writen*; (b) despite Einkenkel, *op. cit.* p. 131, that *be* is not found before CHAUCER denoting the personal means, as in *V.* 343 *and by the gayler gotten hath a barge*, there are: ÆLFRIC II. 170, 14²² *sum eawfæst man sende ðam halgan were twegen butrucas mid wīne to lāce be anum cnapan*, *Sax. Chron.* E 675 *ðas writ seonde seo papa Agatho . . . bi Wilfred . . . to Engla lande*, 1095 *be him sende*, 1128 *ealle . . . be him senden to Ierusalem*, WULFSTAN, *Hom.* 292, 14 *ða sende se ælmihtiga god ān ærendgewrit . . . be anum halgan engle*.²³ These examples vouch for the early authenticity of the formula 'sendan be'; (c) causality, in ÆLFRED, *Be.* 490, 25 *hi be idlum ðingum weoruldgestreon sece*, ÆLFRIC, II. 226, 5 *hwilc eower ðreað me be synne?* *Bl. Hom.* 202, 2 *hi wiston be þæs engles sægenum* 'by the angel's promises'. These three classes naturally connect themselves with the basic idea of close co-existence by means of the link 'according to', as in *Sax. Chron.* 634 *se Birinus com hider be Honorius wordum*, CÆDMON, *Gen.* fērde tō þam lande *be his hlāfordes hæse*, ÆLFRED, *C. P.* 240, 5 *be ðæm ryhtlice be Judeum wæs gecweðen ðurh ðone witgan*; (d) there is no lack of examples with verbs of *begetting*, cf. §17, which border on personal agency, as CÆDMON, *Gen.* 2326 *þu scealt sunu agan*, *bearn be bryde þinre*, ÆLFRED, *Or.* 56, 25 *bi eallum heora wifum bearna striendon*. (d) Finally we have

²⁰ *Dative of Agency*, p. 98.

²¹ Flamme, *Syntax der Blickling Homilies*, Diss. Bonn, 1885, p. 60.

²² Cf. Gottweiss, *Die Syntax der Präp. æt, be ymb in den Ælfric-Homilien*, *Anglia*, 28, 353.

²³ Cf. Bødtker, *Critical Contributions*, p. 37.

sufficient, though not ample, evidence of the personal agent with passive verbs, CÆDMON, *Gen.* 598 *þæt wurde þegn swā monig forlædd be þam lygenum*,²⁴ ÆLFRED, *Be.* 637, 3 *be ðisses B.' lifes stealle foreweardum we sculan feawum wordum gemynegan*, *ða ðe be him gedóne wæron*,²⁵ both Miller's translation 'what befell him' and Bødtker's²⁶ 'with regard to' being somewhat gratuitous; ÆLFRIC, *I.* 518, 31 *þæt is gedón be Godes fadunge*, 487, 17 *be ðam þe is gecweden*, *Bl. Hom.* 163, 27 *þæt þæs bearnes weorþe ongyten wære be pyson eallum oþrum mannum* 'understood by all these other men', although 'measured by, according to, all these men'²⁷ is not impossible.

19. It will be seen that to assert that the construction was altogether due to borrowing from Old French, is out of question. Anglo-Saxon had a latent capacity for the use of *be* as author's preposition and even attests an actual development of it. If it is a Gallicism, it is such not in the sense that the phrase in question was so alien to the spirit of Ags. that we do not expect to see it where we find it, but rather that a homogeneous French locution might analogically have influenced the larger extension of an already existent and rapidly spreading native construction, sufficient instances of which are lacking either because of the defectiveness or because of the insufficiency of the literary material transmitted to us.²⁸ The expression is natural enough to have sprung up, with a proper foundation, simultaneously in both languages. On the other hand, Mätzner's statement²⁹ that the diffusion of *by* as an aid to authorship is to be ascribed to the progressive supersession of the other prepositions—*purh*, *fram*, *of*

²⁴ Cf. Dusenschön, *Die Präp. æfter, æt und be in der ae. Poesie*, Diss. Kiel, 1907.

²⁵ Wülfing, *II.* 338: 'paucis quae sunt gesta memoremus'.

²⁶ *Op. cit.* p. 37.

²⁷ Cf. Bødtker, *loc. cit.*

²⁸ Cf. Jespersen, in *Eng. Studien*, 34, 163 'fürs Altenglische kommt noch in betracht, dass die art der überlieferten texte uns zu der annahme drängt, dass eine ganze menge von den im täglichen leben gewöhnlichsten redewendungen und syntaktischen verbindungen nicht zu uns gekommen ist.'

²⁹ *English Grammar*, *II.*, 398.

—can be understood much better in the light of acceleration by a similar French model.

20. A suitable support for the evolution of *be* may be found in another preposition of rest, (2) **at*,—GOT. and ON. *at*, AGS. *æt*, OHB. *az*; LATIN *ad*. Its fundamental meaning of propinquity, in a less comprehensive degree than that of *be*, is seen in the following, GOTHIC—*so aqizi at waurtim bagme ligip ἡ ἀξίνη πρὸς τὴν ῥίζαν τῶν δένδρων κεῖται*, *Lk.* 3, 9; AGS.—*and æt hire heafdan sæt se eadiga Petrus*,³⁰ *Bl. H.* 145, 26; OLD NORSE—*tveir at hǫfþom*, *Sg.* 66, 3; OHG.—*sitzi azs zesuûn halp miin*. From this local relation we have in ANGLO-SAXON and in GOTHIC **at* in the sense of the personal agent. Consider, 1 *Thess.* 4, 9 *unte silbans jus at guda uslaidai sijup θεοδίδακτοὶ ἐστε*,³¹ 1 *Tim.* 6, 5 *at þaimei gatarnip ist sunja καὶ ἀπεστειρημένων τῆς ἀληθείας*, *Lk.* 10, 7 *driggkandans þo at im*, sc. *gibanona* πίνοντες τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν, the *Skeireins* version of *Jh.* 6, 13 *þatei aflifnoda at þaim <matjandam> τοῖς βεβρωκόσιν*. ANGLO-SAXON—*Ælfric*, I, 50, 2 *witodlice Stephanus wæs to diacone gehádod æt ðære apostola handum*,³² II, 480, 19 *seðe wæs ðer gebletsod æt þæs apostoles handum*, II, 48, 2 *he forgeaf þæt folluht Johanne*, and *wæs eft gefullod æt Johanne*,³³ *Orrm.* 10663 *þu cumesst her att me to wurrþenn fullhtned*, 10654 *fullhtnedd beon att Sannt Johannes hande*; so, also 18232 *att teggre maggstre*.

21. The transition from the notion of rest seems to have been through the verbs of *asking, expecting, receiving, taking, hearing, finding et sim.*,³⁴ in that the place 'where' one asks etc. is emphasized instead of the customary 'wherefrom', similarly to German 'ich kaufe etwas bei ihm' or 'von ihm', French 'boire dans un verre', English 'to receive at the

³⁰ Curious is the tendency of *of* to take over this function of *æt*, *Sax. Chron.* E 1123 *he wæs borenn of Luuein*.

³¹ Cf. §36 for the expression of this idea by means of an auctorial adnominal genitive in *Jh.* 6, 45.

³² Wülfing, II. 323.

³³ Cf. Belden, *The prepositions in, on, to, fore, and æt in Ags. prose*, Diss. Baltimore, 1897, p. 76; Gottweiss, in *Anglia*, 26, 326.

³⁴ Cf. Winkler, *Germanische Kasusyntax*, Berlin, 1896, p. 181, and Wülfing, II. 318.

hands'. This usage is Germanic, OLD NORSE—*nam ek* (*orþ*) *at mǫnnum*, *Hrbl.* 113; ANGLO-SAXON—*þā þing þe ic gehyrde æt mīnum Fæder*, *Jh.* 15, 15, *Wycliffe*, 'I herde of my fadir'; GOTHIC—*hvazuh nu sa gahausjands at attin* *παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς*, *Jh.* 6, 45; OHG. *so chindôt Mercurius pe Venere*, *Not. Cap.* 289 must also be correlated here. Some light may be thrown upon this double usage by the fact that in Gothic *niman* appears with *at* but once, *Jh.* 10, 18 *þo anabusn nam at* *παρὰ attin meinamma*, otherwise either *af* is used, as *Jh.* 10, 18 *ni hvashun nimip þo af mis* *ἀπ' ἐμοῦ*, or a personal dative (of the person from whom something is taken away), which is a *dativus incommodi*, *Mk.* 4, 25 *afnimada imma*. OLD HIGH GERMAN has this dative, *Otfr.* I. 4, 56 *uns ist iz binoman*. In the *Heliland* we find a curious use of *te*, l. 3513 *nam is mēda fulla te is frōion* 'from his lord'. According to Delbrück³⁵ the Pregermanic said at first **af* **immōt* (abl.) **nimipi*, then also **af* **nimipi* **immai* (dat.)

22. When now this person 'at' whom such action takes place, happens to be the logical subject of a passive verb, *at*, *æt* becomes an auctorial preposition, just as *be*, of similar basic meaning, comes to be the equivalent of modern German 'von'. A few GOTHIC examples with other verbs may be subjoined, in that they stand at the threshold of agency, *Coloss.* 4, 16 *ussigwaidau at izwis so aipistaule* 'among you', *Philp.* 4, 6 *bidos izwaros kunpos sijaina at guda* *πρὸς τὸν θεόν*, 2 *Thess.* 3, 1 (*waurd*) *þragjai jah mikiljaidau, swaswe jah at izwis* *καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς*; cf. also *Lk.* 18, 27 *þata unmahteigs at mannam* *παρὰ ἀνθρώποις mahteig ist at guda* *παρὰ τῷ θεῷ*, to which both 'is in the power of' and 'can be accomplished by' may be applied.

23. (3) *In—GOT., AGS., OHG. *in*, ON. *í*; LATIN *in* < OL. *en* = Gk. *ἐν*—is the actual exponent of locality. Wherever employed as the preposition of agency, it may be explained from its derived signification of 'at', 'by'. Thus, already in turns like the following, we cannot talk of a relation of in-clusion, ON. *fugl sat í limunum*, *HHv.* 12; GOTHIC,

³⁵ *Synkretismus*, Strassburg, 1907, p. 231.

jainar hairda sweine managaize haldanaize in þamma fairgunja ἐν τῷ ὄρει, *Lk.* 8, 32; AGS. *ne hafn ic in heáfde hwíte loccas*, *Rid.* 41, 98. There is not even an idea of actual location in *bigitaidau in imma*, *Philp.* 3, 9 or *gaskapanai in Xristau Iesu*, *Eph.* 2, 10. On the other hand, the notion of means appears in AGS. *ðu reces hie in gerde iserre*, *Vesp. Ps.* (825) 2, 9; OHG. *geseret habest du mir min herza in einemo diner oigen*, *Will.* 4, 9; ON. *í dreyra drifenn*, *Grm.* 52, 4; GOT. *in þammei gasiglidai sijup*, *Eph.* 4, 30. Consider these four versions of *Mk.* 1, 8: GOT. *ik dauþja izwis in watin*, *ip is dauþeip izwis in ahmin weihamma*, CORPUS GOSP. *on wætere . . . on Hālgum Gāste*, WYCLIFFE, *in water . . . in the Holy Goost*, TYNDALE, *with water . . . with the Holy Goost*.

24. The 'place where' may also be regarded in the light of mediative instrumentality, *Mt.* 9, 34 *in fauramapþja unhulpono usdreibip unhulpons* ἐν τῷ ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων, Tyndale, 'by the power of the chefe devyll'. The Scandinavian languages would use 'ved' here. OHG. *oba ih in gotes fingare uuirphu diuuala T.* 62, 5, *thaz uuurdi arougit gotes uuerc in imo*, 132. Causality is expressed in *2 Cor.* 9, 13 *mikiljandans guþ in ainfaþein gamainduþais* ἀπλότῃ τῆς κοινωίας, 10, 15 *hvopandans in framapþaim orbaidim* ἐν ἀλλοτρίοις λόγοις. Personal agency, too, is found most frequently in GOTHIC. An OHG. instance like *T.* 59 *got is giberehtot in imo*, and 'personal' references to single books of the Testaments etc. as *Mk.* 1, 2 *swe gameliþ ist in Esaïin praufetau* ἐν τῷ Ἡσαΐᾳ, *Corpus*, *bēc Isaïam*, but Wycliffe, *in Ysaie*,—which are perhaps felt stronger than a mere ON. *svá sem segir í Volsungakviðu inni fornu*, *HH* II. 12 pr. 10,—are of mere collateral interest; but there is a decided agency in examples like *Gal.* 2, 17 *garaihtai domjaindau in Xristau* δικαιωθῆναι ἐν Χριστῷ, Purvey, 'justified in Crist', *1 Cor.* 7, 4 *weihada ist gens so ungalauþjandei in abin, jah gaweihaida ist aba sa ungalauþjands in qenai* ἡγίασται . . . ὁ ἀνὴρ . . . ἐν τῇ γυναικί, καὶ ἡγίασται ἡ γυνή . . . ἐν τῷ ἀνδρί, Purvey, 'for the vnfeithful hosebonde is halewid bi the feithful womman, and the vnfeithful womman is halewid bi the feithful hosebonde';

Eph. 1, 13 in þammei galaubjandans gasiglidai waurþuþ εν ᾧ καὶ πιστεύσαντες ἐσφραγίσθητε, Purvey, 'in whom (Christ) 3e bileuyng e ben merkid with the Hooli Goost.' Just how much the influence of the Greek prototype may have contributed to this meaning of the Gothic preposition, or that of the Itala to the Anglo-Saxon, is an open question. It is important, however, to see that often Purvey feels impelled to render Latin *in* by *bi*.

25. Of the PREPOSITIONS OF MOTION, those denoting separation all agree in that transfer of thought which makes the point of origin or separation whence the action proceeds, at the same time the cause of the departure or act; it is needless to say that this cause, when a person, becomes the actual agent. Let us see this process in detail. (1) ***Fram**—GOTHIC *fram*, AGS. *fram*, *from*, ON. *frá*, OHG. *fram*; SKT. *paramam*—will be found connected in the Germanic dialects with a dative of ablatival function.³⁶ Its basic meaning is 'ahead', 'forward', i. e. not merely separation, but separation from a distant object in its relation to the subject. This representation of 'coming from a place' yields to that of causality as soon as the place stands no more for the origin of the action but becomes identical with the causer and doer thereof.

26. This agent appears only in GOTHIC and ANGLO-SAXON. The very word *fram* occurs but once in the *Heliland*, *imu mahlidin fram mōdaga wihti*, 3931, and then as an adverb. Only two instances exist in OHG., *sela fram hello kihalota*, *Ic.* and *nalles fra unfrumon*, *B.*, the latter to render 'non pro dispendio'.³⁷ Again, in OLD NORSE the idea of descent is the nearest abstract conception of locality attained by this preposition, as the *Flateyjarbók* version of *Hdl.* 25, 2 *allir bornir frá Jormunrekki*.³⁸ This, of course, is not un-

³⁶ For the formal confusion of the two cases cf. Delbrück's *Synkretismus*, p. 229 ff.

³⁷ Graff. *Die ahd. Präpositionen*, Königsberg, 1824, p. 241.

³⁸ Detter-Heinzel, *Sæmundar Edda*, II. 627, "Die Construction mit 'frá' statt des nackten Dativs deutet vielleicht an, dass sie nicht Söhne, sondern Enkel, Urenkel Jormunreks waren. S. oben 8 *koma frá*, unten 25 *uera frá*. Aber *koma frá* wird unten 38 von directer Descendenz gebraucht."

common in Got. and Ags., ÆLFRED, *Or.* 40, 40 *ealle ða men cōmon fram twam gebroðran*, *Jh.* 16, 27 *galaubideduþ þatei ik fram guda urrann*.

27. As outspoken examples of agency in the two dialects may be cited, GOTHIC—*jah gasaihvans warþ fram izai* καὶ ἐθεάθη ὑπ' αὐτῆς, *Mk.* 16, 11, *jah daupidai wesun allai in Iaurdane ahvai fram imma* ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, *Mk.* 1, 5 *þata qiþano fram aggilau* τὸ κληθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγγέλου,—*fram*, Grimm's ideal preposition with passives³⁹ rendering mostly always Greek ὑπό. In ANGLO-SAXON, add to those in §§10 and 11, *Sax. Chron.* 627 *Eādwine cining was gefulwad fram Pauline*, *Mk.* 1, 5 *wæron fram hym gefullode*, ÆLFRED, *C. P.* 106, 23 *ac wile ðæt simle se oðer beo aræred from ðæ oðrum*, 'alter regatur ab altero'.

28. The original sense of this auctorial *fram*, so noticeable with adjectives and substantives, as *Beow.* 419 *pā ic of searwum cwōm*, *fāh from fēondum*, *Mk.* 10, 27 *fram mannam unmahteig ist*, *ni fram guda* παρὰ θεῶ,⁴⁰ is particularly evident in its connection with such a verb of motion as *sandjan*, *sendan*. GOTHIC, *insandiþs was aggilus Gabriel fram guþa* ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ *Lk.* 1, 26; 2 *Cor.* 1, 16 *fram izwis gasandjan mik* ὑφ' ἡμῶν προπεμφθῆναι; ANGLO-SAXON, *fram Drihtne*, *Lk.* 1, 26, *Ælfred*, *Be.* 475, 8 *eac Vespasianus fram him sended wæs* 'ab eo missus.' *Bo.* 150, 13 *ne wurde þu þeah na adrifen from Deodrice*—all as plainly locative as any non-auctorial expression, such as CÆDMON's *Drihten sende regn from rōderum*.

29. Another subtype of the agent in which the local side is transparent is the connection of *fram* with active verbs in passive meaning. Consider *Lk.* 16, 22 *warþ . . . briggan fram aggilum* ἀπεχθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων, Wycliffe, 'was borun of aungels', Tyndale, 'by the angelles'; *Lk.* 3, 7 *atgaggandeim manageim daupjan fram sis* βαπτισθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, *Corpus*, *ðæt hī wæron gefullode fram him*; *Mk.* 8, 31 *uskiusan skulds ist fram þaim sinistam* ἀποδοκιμασθῆναι ἀπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, so *Lk.* 9, 22 and 17, 25 ἀπό. Noteworthy is the Greek preposition

³⁹ *Deutsche Grammatik*,¹ IV. 947.

⁴⁰ 2 *Cor.* 2, 6 *andabeit þata fram managizam* ἡ ἐπιτιμία αὕτη ὑπὸ τῶν πλειόνων 'quae fit a pluribus' is quite like agency.

also in *Mt.* 11, 19 *gadomida warþ handugei fram barnam seinaim* ἐδixαιώθη ἡ σοφία ἀπὸ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς, *Ag.* *wīsdōm ys gerihtwīsoð fram heora bearnum*, Wycliffe 'of her sonys', very much like *Elene* 190 (cf. §10.) *swā fram Siluestre lārde wāron*, where the locative idea is at least as strong as the acquired notion of authorship. The presupposed causal chain is completed by instances like *Mk.* 12, 11 *fram frauġin warþ sa παρά*, *Lk.* 9, 7 *waurþanona fram imma*; *Psalms*, 106, 38 *oft hī fea wurdan feondum geswencte fram þære costunge*, *ÆLFRED*, *Or.* 206, 7 *on þære firran Ispanie forwearð Emilius se consul mid eallum his folce from Lusitaniam þære peode*,—and such personified means as *Mt.* 8, 24 *þata skip gahulþ waurþan fram wegim* καλύπτεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν κυμάτων.

30. (2) **Aba*, **af*—GOTHIC *af*, AGS. *of*, *af*, OHG. *aba*, *ab*; LATIN *ab*, GREEK ἀπό, SKT. *āpa*—with ablative, ⁴¹ denotes a separation rather away from some fixed point than out of it, as does *fram*. So, GOTHIC *ushauhjada af airpai* ὑψωθῶ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, *Jh.* 12, 32; OLD NORSE, *høfoþ hoggva monk þér halse af* 'away from your neck', *Skm.* 23, 3; OHG. *sendost aba himelle*, *N.* 103, 3 (in 17, 17 *er santa fon himelle*). In Anglo-Saxon a careful distinction is sometimes impossible, since the two prepositions meet at more points than Gothic *fram* and *af*. Sometimes even the above criteria are found interchanged, as *ÆLFRED*, *Or.* 36, 23 *Moyses lædde Israhela folc of Egyptum* is plainly 'out of', whereas 1, 16 *Moyses lædde Israhela folc from Egyptum ofer þone Readan Sæ* is 'away from'. ⁴² This use of *of*, I may add, is older than *ÆLFRED*; we have already *Beow.* 1162 *byrelas sealdon wīn of wunder-fatum* 'out of wondrous jugs' and, in the sense 'out of', 662 *Hrōðgār gewāt . . . ūt of healle*. *ÆLFRIC*'s union of *acennan* with *of* seems also to be based on this signification, similarly that of the *Blickling Homilies*, as in 31, 28 *man biþ acenned of Iudan*. ⁴³ Clear is the meaning of *ÆLFRED*, *Be.* 495, 21 *ne wæs acenned of unrihthæmede ne ðurh*

⁴¹ A constituent of OHG. *fona* and OS. *fana*, *Bezzenger's Beiträge*, 27, 177.

⁴² Cf. Wülfing, II. 421 and Bødtker, *op. cit.* p. 6.

⁴³ Cf. Fischer, *op. cit.* p. 87.

dyrne forligenysse ac acenned wæs of ælicum gesinscype 'sed de legitimo conjugio natus fuerat.'

31. As in the case of *fram*, so here the point from which an action originates may be considered the agent from whom the action proceeds: *af* thus becomes the preposition of agency in Old Norse and its descendants, in Middle English and, to a limited extent, in Gothic also. Examples: GOTHIC—*ni gajiuukaizau af unpiuþa mē niwō ūþō toū kaxioū*, *Rom.* 12, 21, *ingaleikonda af wulþu in wulþu, swaswe af frauþins ahmin kaþáþer áþō kuroiου πνεύματος*, Purvey, 'as of the spirit of the Lord'. OLD NORSE⁴⁴—*Fornm.* X. 384 *hón var af Most kynjuð ok fædd*, *Flat.* I. 16 *Nordimbraland er kallatt af Nordmonnum*, as against the old instrumental form in *Fornm.* I. 23 *Norðimbraland var mest byggt Norðmonnum*, *Stjórn.* 458 *hann var virðr minnzt af þeim* as against older form in *Hít.* 4 *virðist konunginum hann afbragðsmaðr*. Interesting are the following later examples, *hine bleffue bidne ihíel aff gresshopper*, *Bible* 1550, *derfor var hannom giffuet skiold oc hielm aff kongen*, *Abs. Pedersen*, 16th c., *saaledis er den gode Enoch hentagen, aff Gud*, *Vedel's Saxo*, 1575, *Jesus som var undfangen af den Helligaand*, 17th century. ANGLO-SAXON—*Sax. Chron.* 640 *pā syððan warðen gemartrode of ðunore*, *Lk.* 6. 18 *pā þe wæron of unclænum gæstum gedrēhte*, Wycliffe, 'trauelid with vnelene spiritis', MOD. ICELANDIC, *er þjáðir voru af óhreinum öndum*; so SWEDISH and NORWEGIAN *af*, even LANDSMAAL, *var plaagad av ureine Andar*; *Mt.* 14, 24 *scip of þam ypum totorfod*, Wycliffe 'throwen with waves', ÆLFRED, *Or.* 42, 18 *hu hreowlice he wearð adræfed of Othinentium his agenra þeode*, 154, 28 *seo burg wæs getimbred of Læcedemonium* 'ex Lacedaemoniis conditam civitatem', *Laz.* III 289 *selehðe him wes ȝiueðe of seoluen ure drihten*.

32. In the interpretation of either Gothic or Old Norse *af* it is clear that in the idea of separation the point of departure is equated with the author of the action. Examples like *Nj.* 60 *ek em sendr af Starkaði*, *Pedersen's Nye Testamenta*, 1529 *it menniske vor udsent aff Gud*, show this well,

⁴⁴For *af* in the Edda cf. §14.

also connections with nouns and adjectives, as *Rom.* 9, 3 *ana-paima wisan silba ik af Xristau ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, *Egilss.* 162 *hann var harmdauði af mönnum* (modern, *hans død beklagedes af*), *Alex.* 8 *auðkenndr af öllu fólkinu*, where the underlying concept of agency is felt without an expressly passive moulding.⁴⁵ In the English field however the question of Old French analogy has been raised, as in the similar use of *by*. According to Einkenkel, *Streifzüge*, p. 162, the extensive use in Middle English of our particle as an author's preposition, cf. CHAUCER VI. 309 'thi wille fulfillid be of thi sone', MAUND. 5 'she was buryed of the aungels', is to be attributed to the influence of Old French, as in *Joinv.* 232 *il estoient si pressei des Turs que. . . .* In reply, it true that aside from few exceptions among which *acenned of*, *geboren of* is to be emphasized (cf. *Jh.* 3, 6 *þæt þe of Gāste is ācenned*, *þæt is gāst*, *Laʒ.* II. 237 *þus wæs Marlīn biʒeten & iboren of his moder*) where the concept of origin is paramount, the Ags. preposition of the agent is in later times regularly *fram*, whereas OF. uses *de* with passives—after *né* naturally, as *Ch'est ou Dieus fu de vierge nés*, *Vrai aniel*, 347—reserving *par* for instances which demand an energetic stress upon the subject. But this does not do away with the fact that in Ags. also we have that progressive development of *of* towards the auctorial which, despite the similar OF. usage, betokens a no inconsiderable degree of independence. Jespersen, in *Eng. Studien*, 34, 163, points out a pertinent instance of how a certain classic example of English relative construction appearing in Dickens' 'I knows a lady, which her name is Harris' and away back in Ags. *se god ðe ʒis his beacen wæs*, can be found not only in French, Spanish, Portuguese, but even in New Greek, Lithuanian and Malayan.

33. The French influence, although absolutely plausible, again cannot simply be saddled on the Middle English phrase. The insufficiency of linguistic documents, deplored in §19,

⁴⁵ There would be no doubt to the Gothic mind, as Grimm² IV. 781 remarks, between *afnimada fram imma* and Lk. 8, 18 *afnimada af imma*. Similarly in 2 *Thess.* 3, 2 *jah ei uslausjaindau af gastojanaim jah ubilaim mannam* the meaning is clearly 'deliverance from' and in Lk. 18, 34 'concealment from.'

does to be sure do away with positive proofs of refutation, but this does not in itself preclude the possible existence of *of*'s auctorial uses. The French construction may well have aided the English to attain a predominant value and a general currency in its epoch,⁴⁶ but we have at least two incontestable proofs in favor of *Ags. of*, viz. that numerically it shows a marked gain over *fram* already in the Saxon Chronicle (cf. §12), and that we can find in Anglo-Saxon those presuppositions which we observed in the case of other prepositions to have been conducive to the personal agent with passives.

34. Let us instance the latter. As in ON. *gørþer þik frágjan af firenwerkum*, *HH.* I. 43, 5, so we have in AGS. expressions of means real as well as nearer the efficient cause, *Bl. Hom.* 11, 9 *weorþian wē ða clāpas his hādes, of ðām wæs ure gecynd geedneowod*, *ÆLFRED*, *Be.* 493, 9 *þæt ðære menniscan gecynde of ælmihtiges Godes gyfe gehealdan wæs* 'quod naturae humanae ex omnipotentis Dei dono servatum est', *ÆLFRIC*, I. 2, 402 *of ðære lafe wæron gefyllede seofan spyrtan*, where we see an actual competition with *mid*, I. 2,400 *gereordiað of Drihtnes hláfum*, *Orrm.* 10137 *off þiss kirrtell mahht tu zèt deoplikerr unnderrstanndenn*. The cause or reason is evident in *ÆLFRED*, *C. P.* 156, 24 *ðonne hie of yflum willan ne gesyngað ac of unwise dome & ungewisses oððe ungewaldes oððe of flæslīcum gecynde oððe of wācmodnesse & of unbieldeo oððe of untrymnesse modes oððe lichoman*, *Orrm.* 5548 *þatt hemm baþe beo þe bett off þatt teẏ neh te biggenn*, *Laz.* 24227 *heore ẏeolp makeden of muchele biẏeten*. *Saxon. Chron.* 1083 *þa wæron þa munecas swiðe áferede of heom* and *Reg. Ben.* 23, 35 *of domesdaẏ beon ofdrad and of hel-lewite agrisan* are right on the threshold of agency. Similar causality can be gathered from GOTHIC and OLD NORSE, *Jh.* 14, 10 *þo waurda þoei ik rodja izwis, af mis silbin áπ'* *ἐμαυτοῦ ni rodja*, *Lk.* 8, 14 *jah af saurgom ὑπὸ μεριμνῶν . . .* *. . . gaggandans afhvapnand*; *Háv.* 57, 1 *brandr af brandi brenn unz brunnn er, funi kveykisk af funa*, *Hom.* 12, 13 *hirð eigi þu yfir at stígask af illu* 'noli vinci a malo'. Moreover,

⁴⁶ It must be recalled that *fram* is at this time not yet extinct, *R. of Gl.* 5500 *fram God ẏecham ẏsend*.

the original local idea, which is entirely natural to Anglo-Saxon, may be frequently found in examples of the agent, e. g. ÆLFRED, *Or.* 126, 2 *þæt gefeoht wæs gedón mid micelre geornfulnessse of þæm folcum bæm*, ÆLFRIC, *I.* 94, 59 *of marian werode wæs þus geclypod*, *Bl. Hom.* 55, 28 *þæt him ær of þæs lareowes muþe wæs bodad*, *Orrm.* 19185 *all mann-kinn iss borenn her off faderr annd off moderr*—all with a manifest concept of ‘a parte’, ‘seitus’.

35. A curious coincidence must be pointed out *en passant* between that use of *of* which came to express not only the agent but the possessive genitive as well, and an old development of the possessive genitive into agency which we observe in the synthetic stages of some Indo-European languages. We allude to a primitive formula **deiuosio* **datós*, where the genitive is adnominal; SANSKRIT, *asya* in *RV.* 10, 160, 4 ‘conspicitur ille ab eo, eius’; AVESTAN, *θwahyā bərəxδqm vīdušō* ‘esteemed of him that knows thee’, *Y.* 34, 9, *aiwiγnixta sūnō* *Vd.* 7, 29 ‘gnawed by dogs’, really ‘the gnawed of dogs’; GREEK, *σφαγῆς Αἰγίσθου* ‘slain of A.’ *Eurip. El.* 123, *διόςδοτος* ‘the presented of Zeus’; LITHUANIAN *karáliaus siústas* sent by the king’.⁴⁷ The same is probably seen in LATIN, *legati Romanorum, eius dicta, malevoli veteris poetæ male dictis*, Terence, *Andr. prol.* 7; GERMANIC, *gedo me lufende & onfundne þines wisdomes*, *Ælfred, So.* 171, 3; *druhtines giscefti* ‘what God created’ *Otfr.* II. 1, 7, cf. ed. Erdmann, p. 383; *jah wairþand allai laisidai gups* *διδάκτοι θεοῦ*, *Jh.* 6, 45.

36. (3) ***Fon(a)**—OLD SAXON *fon*, *fan*, OHG. *fona*, *fon*—a purely Westgermanic preposition connected with an ablative dative, is most likely composed of two parts, *af* and *ana*, with the initial vowel lost by apocope,⁴⁸ cf. Italian *da* < *de* + *ad*. It emphasizes the starting point and as such can be traced evolving into a preposition of agency.⁴⁹ Actual locality, *T.* 81 *nidarstiganter for themo skefe*, *N.* 43, 22 *ziu uuendest du fone uns din anasiune*, *Nib.* 494, 4 *si vuoren von*

⁴⁷ Cf. in this connection this interesting instance, ‘Er empfängt durch einen von ihm Abgesandter die Wohltat des heiligen Kommunion,’ p. 212 of *Dichtungen und Dichter*, by Otto Pniower, Berlin, 1912.

⁴⁸ Cf. Persson, *IF.* 2, 25, 237.

⁴⁹ Graff. *Die ahd. Präpositionen*, pp. 217-240, and *Sprachschatz*, III 523.

dem lande. In a transferred sense, *T.* 97 *arstuont fon to-ten*, *Parz.* 480, 15 *einem helfen von der nôt*; so, too, descent, *gl. K. fona herostin*, *Ra. fona drume* 'a stirpe, *Nib.* 643, 1 *Hagene von Troneje*. Causality, in the sense of modern 'er fiel von einer Kugel', *T.* 62, 12 *fon thinen uuorton uuirdis tu girehfestigot*, *inti fon thinen uuorton uuirdis tu fornidarit*, *Parz.* 211, 20 *ieweder ros von müede dampf*, *Walth.* 3, 26 *sîn kraft von dîner kraft verzaget*. The thinking agent working to a definite end, *Is.* 4, 7 *quhad fona dhem angilum*, *T.* 13, 6 *nalles fon bluote ouh fon gote giboranê wârun*—in which the local notion is transparent, as also in *Is.* 11, 13 *fona fater ward chiboran*, *Not. ps.* 353-b *keboren fone magede*—*N.* 36, 23 *fone gote uuerdent kerihet*, which has the same force as the transitional *N.* 32, 6 *sine himela gefestenot fona gotes uuorte*. Miscellaneous MHG. examples: *ir wart von mir gnâde gesagt*, *Iw.*, *von ir gevidere wart diu linde bedaht*, *ibid.*, *do wart genomen bî der hant von wætlîchen recken manic wîp wolgetân*, *Nib.* *der rede wart gelachet dâ von maniger edeler muoter kinde*, *Gudr.* From LOW GERMAN, *fon waldandes worde gîbiudid*, *Hel.* 1074, *thiu thâr werðad ahlûdid fon thero hêlogun tungun*, *fon them galme godes*, *Hel.* 1071,⁵⁰ *ik geuuisso gasazt bin kuning van himo* 'constitutus sum rex ab eo', *Ps.* 2, 6,⁵¹ *mistrôt bin fan stimmon fiundes in fan arbeide*, 54, 3 *tedeïlda sint fan abulgî ansceines sînis* 'divisi sunt ab ira vultus ejus', 54, 22.

37. The relation of the *von*-phrase, to designate the agent with passive expressions, to the pure dative in the same function, indifferently termed the dative of interest or the dative of agency, is of great importance because of the development of the Germanic dative itself. The case of this dative is usually stated⁵² as that after the gerundive infinitive and after verbal adjectives in *-bar* and *-lich* and some past participles, felt as adjectives, such a dative may be considered as one expressive of agency, on the assumption that the person for whom the action may or must take place or is an accomplished

⁵⁰ Cf. also *Hel.* 5026 *it was bi thesun liudin giduan*.

⁵¹ From Heyne, *Kleinere altniederdeutsche Denkmäler*² 1877.

⁵² Cf. Curme, *A Grammar of the German Language*, p. 536, and Blatz, *Neuhochdeutsche Grammatik*, II, 423.

fact, is the very same that performs the action. Still in other words, 'was von jemand gethan wird, wird in irgend einem sinne für ihn gethan.'⁵³ Accordingly 'alles ist dem Auge erreichbar' is similar in force to, though not as subjective as, 'es war für mich zur Zeit unausführbar' and to 'anderen Sterblichen schön, kaum noch gesehen von mir'. The same category of sheer interest would embrace also 'eine Seele, die der List und der Liebe gleich unbetretbar war', 'wer sich der äusseren Wirkung ergibt, wird Feinden gefangen', *i. e.* 'den Feinden zum Vorteil', 'uns ist die Schlacht gewonnen', 'neue Gedanken fühl' ich, von denen mir vordem keiner gedacht war.'

38. However, the syncretistic character of the Germanic dative, in that it represents functionally an older instrumental as well, (to omit the ablative and the locative here), does not allow of this simple conception of our dative as merely a species of the dative of interest. Whilst there is no difficulty in the diagnosis of the dative 'governed' by *von* as an original ablative,⁵⁴ the formal confusion of the dative and of the instrumental into what is termed 'dative', cf. §8, would tend to postulate some recognition for the instrumental ingredients of this 'dative'. Narrowed down to fundamentals, it is the case of the Greek dative transplanted to the Germanic soil. With the aid of kindred phenomena in other Indo-European languages, we are in a position to observe in Greek this instrumental constituent from its basic meaning of concomitancy right up to the function of agency, as in examples like *Soph. Ai.* 539 προσπόλοις φυλάσσεται or *Iscc.* ἀπὸ τοῦ ὠφλημένου Σωπόλιδι ἀργυρίου "of the money owed by (not 'due to') Sōpolis".⁵⁵ Regardless of this evidence, however,⁵⁶ grammarians as a rule persist in ignoring the lesson of parallel procedure that can be drawn from the Sanskrit, Avestan and Slavic extension of the material use of the instrumental to

⁵³ Winkler, *Germanische Casussyntax*, p. 80.

⁵⁴ Old High German combinations of *von* with instrumental forms like *thiu* and *thisiu* are comparatively young possibilities, where such forms were in all likelihood petrified and adverbial in force.

⁵⁵ Cf. Meisterhans, *Gr.*² 156, 172.

⁵⁶ Cf. *Dative of Agency*, p. 72 ff.

the personal, and will render a *Homeric* δόρυ μακρόν, ὃ οἱ κλισίῃφι λέλειπτο, *N.* 168, by 'which for him was left in the tent',⁵⁷ as if it were universally established that what one forgets to take along with him, is left somewhere *for* him.

39. It is the existence of such a dative-instrumental of agency that one is inclined to vindicate for OLD HIGH GERMAN also.⁵⁸ Language, to be sure, seems to have found a formal means of distinguishing between the various case-forces amalgamated in the 'dative', for such functions as, through a comparison with related languages, can be reduced to an original locative, ablative or instrumental, are in general replaced by and restricted to equivalent prepositional phrases. Old High German has already to a great extent completed this refinement, consequently we feel today that all that has not assumed this new form, belongs to the domain of the real dative, for which Germanic has had a decided predilection. This is the reason why we cannot decide by their own evidences an OTFRIDIAN *fatere giboranan ebanewigan*, an EDDIC *vasat hann ásom alinn*, an ANGLO-SAXON *þæm eafera wæs æfter cenned geong in geardum*, or a GOTHIC *liugada anþaramma*. On the other hand, we may well surmise their real character, despite the datival garb of the logical subjects, when we turn to other languages and meet SANSKRIT *sáhasā yó mathitó jáyatē nrbhiḥ* 'begotten by men', instrumental, and, for marital relations, SLAVIC *jako oženi se jeja* ὅτι αὐτὴν ἐγάμισεν, *Mk.* 6, 17, instrumental; and when we see in OLD NORSE *var af Most kynjuð ok fædd*, *Fornm.* 10, 384, and similarly in ANGLO-SAXON, linguistic feeling further defined and amplified in later prepositional expressions that would never have come about had these datives been pure datives of interest—CÆDMON, *El.* 775 *sē-ðe on rōde wæs ond þurh Mārian in middangeard acenned weard*, or *Bl. Hom.* 31, 24 *sē ilca sunu wæs ær eallum tīdum acenned fram God Fæder, sē Ælmihtiga from þon Ælmihtigan* or *Jh.* 3, 6 *þæt þe of gaste is acenned*. And this amplification in expression occurs when prepositionless dative-

⁵⁷ *Monro, A Grammar of the Homeric Dialect*², §143, 5.

⁵⁸ Cf. §4 for the other Germanic dialects.

instrumentals of agency appear simultaneously, cf. for CÆDMON, §4, and p. 103 of *Dative of Agency*.

40. Withal, we hasten to add, sight must not be lost of the fact that the dative of interest—broad enough to be felt as a logical subject when connected even with a noun, as Plaut. *Poen*, 5, 5, 29 *quid tibi hanc rem tactio est*=*quid hanc rem tangis*—contains in itself the potentialities of an eventual transition to the function of agency, as attested by Latin. But this does not exclude the possibility, in addition, of a dative-instrumental of agency, nor even the partial non-conversion of the latter into the later prepositional phrase, because of attraction or analogy to that dative of interest with which it bore absolutely the same outward form. In fact, seeing the remains of an original *Indo-European function of the instrumental case thus obscured by that fortuitous circumstance which brought the dative to the fore, we might ask if, had the reverse case-substitution occurred and the instrumental remained constructional, as in Indo-Iranian and Slavic, and entrusted with the functions of the dative, we could claim an exclusively instrumental connotation for all instances hereto pertaining that might be found in Germanic. And if not, is there not, in this case at least, some fallacy in the reasoning which, in deciding the value of constructions belonging to the dawn of authentic literature, would recognize as sole criterion modern *Sprachgefühl*, and that in the face of cogent evidence contemporaneous with or even antedating such constructions.

41. One moot point in this connection is the nature of the passive verb in Germanic. Grimm⁵⁹ remarks that, since the passive inflection is lost, really the preterite participle alone stands for the verb. That thus these participles must be considered as adjectives—for to this they would be changed, if the accompanying dative of the logical subject were a mere dative of interest—especially when connected with the substantive verb, one cannot well believe, because then we could not, save in the spare synthetic remnants of Gothic and the younger reflexives of Old Norse, speak of a Germanic

⁵⁹ *Deutsche Grammatik*², IV 714.

passive at all, and the periphrasis of Slavic, Sanskrit and Avestan, similar to the Germanic combinations with **wesan* and **werþan*, would mean the absence of finite passive verbal relations in those languages as well. And yet we have in these very tongues evidence of the bare participle, without the copula so essential in Germanic, connected with instrumental forms in instrumental function to denote the logical subject. So we see⁶⁰ in SANSKRIT, *Rv.* 1, 163, 2 *yaména dattáh* 'which is given by Yama', AVESTAN, *Yt.* 10, 38 *frazinte anašitā māθanyā* 'the houses which are not inhabited by posterity', but especially in SLAVIC, with the bulk of its finite passives expressed solely by the participle, *pravimŭ dŭvěma aggeloma*, *Supr.* 124, 26, 'qui a duobus angelis ducitur' (so reminiscent of Eddic *vask þrimr verum vegin at húsi*, *Ghv.* 10, 2), a turn which some grammarians would not hesitate to render, if paralleled in Germanic by a dative-instrumental of agency, as 'zwei Engeln geführt'.

42. Admitting moreover that the participles were, according to their origin, adjectives and in the periphrases with **wesan* and **werþan* would surely be felt at first as such, already Old High German bears out the fact that they early combined with auxiliaries to form a unit, so that they were not independent predicate adjectives, but, inseparable from the auxiliaries, part of a well-defined verbal predicate, especially with **werþan*, which expressed an entrance into the state denoted by the participles.⁶¹ Thus, *Otfr.* 2, 21, 44 *gizelit sint themo*, 2, 2, 30 *nu sint fon gote erborane*, 3, 22, 19 *ir ni giloubet thoh thiū halt, thaz ist in ofto gizalt*, 1, 17, 73 *sī wurtun slafente fon engilun gimanote*, 4, 16, 13 *thi uns giscriban ist* and many others are shown by the context to be distinctly compound past tenses into which the adjectival force need not be read, and even cannot because of the presence of a logical subject or of an adverb. Moreover, already in OHG. the personal periphrasis in the passive was the equivalent of an active verb with an accusative, as *Otfr.* 4, 4, 9 *wirdit fon iu funtan ein esilin gibuntan*, for Latin

⁶⁰ Cf. *Dative of Agency*, p. 118.

⁶¹ Cf. Wilmanns, *Deutsche Grammatik*, 3^e, §73.

'invenietis' asinam alligatam.⁶² It does not seem to be an open question that the formation of the younger compound passives, *ich bin, was gebunden* and *ich bin, was gebunden gewesen*, in use since the 14th and 15th centuries,⁶³ has largely been responsible for the modern revival of the original adjectival meaning of the participle; such random instances as *ich bin begraben gewesen*, Konr. v. Würz. *Troj.* 16937, *es ist oft durch Concilia etwas furgewant, aber durch etlicher menschen list behendiglich verhindert und immer erger worden*, Luther, show that *worden* really belongs first of all to the adjective and that, in attaching itself to the participle, levels the latter to the rank of an adjective. In this process, participles like *betrübt, bekannt*, that had long been adjectives, must have been of material aid.

43. This then is the situation in general terms. The writer would accordingly be the first to discountenance any attempt to secure from modern German a tabulation of such auctorial datives as may show a possible instrumental connotation, as against the large mass of genuine datives; a delimitation would simply prove unfeasible. But when he sees the absolute need—and possibility—in the other Germanic dialects of a partly instrumental conception of this dative and when he finds OLD HIGH GERMAN itself offering actual instrumental forms⁶⁴ expressive, upward of the original comitative function, not only of real means, *Hild.* 53 *suertu hauwan*, 40 *wili mih dinu speru werpan*, *Murb. Hym.* 19, 2, 3 *fuaziu katretanti*, but also of efficient cause *Musp.* 53 *swilizôt lougiu himil*, *Otfr.* 2, 22, 22 *thu hungiru nistirbist*, *Pa.* I. 40, 25 *ubilu cadungan*, *Is.* 15, 2 *druhtines uuordu sindun himila chifestinode*, 15, 3 *sines mundes gheistu standit al iro megin*; also OLD SAXON *ik bithuungan uuas thurstu endi hungru*,

⁶² Cf. Erdmann-Mensing, *Grundzüge der deut. Syntax*, I. 89, and Cuny *Der temporale Wert der passiven Umschreibungen im Ahd.* Diss. Bonn, 1905; Öberg, *Über die hochdeutsche Passivumschreibung*, Lund, 1907; Löffler, *Das Passiv bei Otfrid und im Heliand*, Diss. Tübingen, 1905, p. 15—.

⁶³ Cf. Wunderlich, *Der deutsche Satzbau*², I. 144, and Wilmanns *op. cit.* 3¹, §76, Grimm², IV, 16.

⁶⁴ Cf. Ehret, *Der Instrumentalis im Ahd.* Diss. Heidelberg, 1907.

Hel. 4400, cf. *Otfr.* 1, 1, 35 *mit regulu bithuungan*—then surely he feels justified to postulate at least for the older period of German, before the formation of the new passives above alluded to, and for reasons firmly rooted in the observable facts of historical development, the old inherited force of the instrumental of agency for all datives employed as logical subjects whose connotation is not palpably one of mere subjective interest. The number of these—a suitable collection is still a desideratum—will not be found to be great. The reason for this is to be sought not only in the prepositional usages of men like NOTKER, but also in the predilection of writers like OTFRID for the so-called indefinite passive, i. e. one whose psychological subject is not expressed—a trait common also to the *Heliand*.⁶⁵ With prose writings, on the other hand, that are sheer translations, like ISIDOR and TATIAN, care must be exercised to ascertain the extent of Latin influence.⁶⁶ It is encouraging, however, to have Grimm² insert a passage, p. 857 of vol. 4, 'Beim passiv dat. pro instr.' and quote 'dat *mi* lieber ontboren ware (das besser *von mir* unterlassen wäre) Ferguut 2921; mhd. *daz ist mir* ungetân, vgl. ahd. *slâfe* antsuebit (somno sopiti) Diut. 1, 505^b ' Could not *Otfr.* V. 1, 27 *mit thiū ist thar bizeinit, theiz imo ist al gimeinit, Tat.* prol. 3 *uuas mir gisehan 'visum est mihi'*,⁶⁷ 35, 2 *zi thiū thaz thu mannum ni sis gisehan fastenti 'ne videaris hominibus ieiunans'*,⁶⁸ 126, 18 *quid uns, uuaz thir gisehan si*, 197, 3 *niouuht wirdic tode ist imo getân*, be considered in this connection?

44. With respect to (4) *uz—GOTHIC *us* concerns *us* only, since ON. 'ø^r, OHG. *ur* do not seem to appear in auctorial phrases—it is but another local preposition, combined with a dative-ablative, with which the 'place' develops into a concept of authorship, 'out of' yielding to 'away from' and 'done by', as in the case of *von*. We shall here content

⁶⁵ Cf. Löffler, *Das Passiv bei Otfrid und im Heliand*, Diss. Tübingen, 1905, p. 11 ff.

⁶⁶ Cf. Kaufmann, *Über Genera Verbi im Ahd.* Diss. Leipzig, 1912, p. 91 ff.

⁶⁷ But 225,5 *inti gisehan uuas fon in 'visus esset ab eis'*.

⁶⁸ But 'ut pareant hominibus,' 35.1 is *thaz sie sih offnon mannum*.

ourselves with enumerating the few examples of agency that could be found in GOTHIC: *Rom.* 9, 12 *ni us waurstwam, ak us þamma laþondin qīþan ist izai* ἐκ τοῦ καλοῦντος ἐρρέθη, to which cf. *Gal.* 5, 8 *so gakunds ni us þamma laþondin izwis ist*; 2 *Cor.* 2, 2 *hvas ist saei gailjai mik, nibai sa gaurida us mis?* ὁ λυπούμενος ἐξ ἐμοῦ, 2 *Cor.* 7, 9 *ei waihtai ni gasleiþjaindau us unsis* ἵνα μηδενὶ ζημιωθῇτε ἐξ ἡμῶν, *Philp.* 1, 23 *aþþan dishabaiþs <im> us þaim twaim* συνέχομαι δὲ ἐκ τῶν δύο; similarly to *Ags. of, Jh.* 3, 5 *us watin, us ahmin gabairada*. Causality appears in 2 *Cor.* 13, 4 *aþþan jabai jah ushramiþs was us siukein* ἐσταυρώθη ἐκ ἀσθενείας, *akei libaiþ us mahtai gudis* ἀλλὰ ζῇ ἐκ δυνάμεως θεοῦ. For means, cf. *Rom.* 9, 32, *Gal.* 2, 16, 2 *Cor.* 8, 11; interesting is, with reference to §42, *Lk.* 6, 44 *hwarzizuh raihtis bagme us swesamma akrana uskunþs ist* ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου καροῦ γινώσκεται, *AGS. be his wæstmē*, Wycliffe, of his fruyt'.

45. This brings us now to the one PREPOSITION OF ACCOMPANIMENT here discussed, **með*, **miði*—GOT. *mīþ*, ON. *meþ*, AGS. OS. *mid*, OHG. *mit*; GREEK μέτα. Originally of a locative significance, cf. *Homeric* μετά γναμπτῆσι γένυσσιν, it is the sociative-comitative preposition par excellence of the Germanic dialects, as GOT. *Mt.* 5, 41 *gaggais mīþ imma* ὑπάγε μετ' αὐτοῦ, OHG. *Georgsl.* 1, 2 *fuor mit mikilemo herigo*, *folko*, AGS. *Cri.* 837 *gefeah t Æ. wið Deniscne here mid Dornsætum*. What is of interest in this sketch is the circumstance that this preposition and its later substitute in English, *with*,⁶⁹ attest exactly the same upward development towards the auctorial function as the bare instrumental, itself expressive at first of mere association, whose development we have studied before, §§4 ff. and 43.

46. In OLD HIGH GERMAN we have sufficient testimony only with respect to the earlier stages of this process, such as—to offer solely examples with instrumental forms—concomitance, *Is.* 41, 5 *sitzit pardus mit gheizssinu*, means, *Otfr.* III. 25, 17 *mit uuafanu thuingent*—the transition being some such instance as *T.* 236, 7 *mit ferennu quamun*—and potential agency, *T.* 22, 2 *mit missalihhen suhtin bifangene*, 52, 2 *thaz*

⁶⁹ Cf. Erla Hittle, *Zur Geschichte d. æ. Präp. 'mid' und 'wið'*. Diss. Heidelberg, 1901.

skef uuard bithekit mit den undon, cf. also *Iw.* 3607 *wan daz er was bedwungen mit selher siecheite*, *Servat.* 1781 *mit dem tôde teun*, but instances of personal agency, as in the later isolated case from *Eckhart*, *in wart ze tische gedient wol mit* (=von) *getwêrgen*, are wanting. This is also characteristic of OLD SAXON. In OLD NORSE, *viþ*, the preposition which in English fuses with *mid*, stands in the *Eddic* poems only for the means through which something is accomplished, as *Grm.* 45, 2 *sviþom hefk nú ypt fyr sigtíva sunom*, *viþ þat skal vílbjörg vaka*. In the modern dialects, as e. g. DANISH, *ved* is used only for the intermediate agent, *af* being the real auctorial particle, as *Jh.* 1, 10 *verden er giort ved ham* 'mundus per ipsum factus est'; *Rom.* 11, 36 *af ham og ved ham og til ham ere alle Ting*, 'ex ipso et per ipsum et in ipso sunt omnia'; *Bogen er udgivet af Litteraturselskabet ved N. N.*

47. In ANGLO-SAXON and ENGLISH, however, we see the development in its full form. Instrumentality, *Gen.* 251 *mid his handum gesceóp*, *Oros.* 288, 1 *weard J. mid ðam bræðe ofsmorod*, *Mt.* 12, 44 *geclænsod mid besemum*. Efficient agency, *Be.* 587, 7 *þa wæs he gehrinen mid untrumnesse* 'arreptus infirmitate,' *C. P.* 180, 11 *mid ðy storme & mid ðære yste onwend & oferworpen*, *Metr.* 20, 105 *wæstm todripen siððan wide mid winde*; personal, *Chad.* 158 *gelededu mid engla ðreatum to ðam ecan gefean*, where the basic idea of association is still apparent, *C. P.* 415, 18 *ða wæs his mod gehæft mid ðam mædene* (modern, 'to be taken with her'), *Be.* pref. *he me sæde of Theodores and Adrianus forðon he swyðost wæs mid him gelæred*. It is indeed not surprising that, with the loss of *mid*, the preposition *with* supplanting it, the latter, though fundamentally adversive,⁷⁰ is also found in auctorial expressions, CHAUCER, II. 84 'with twenty knightes take', i. e. to be taken, P. PLOUGH. 353 'that robbed was with theves', TOWN. M. 290 'stolne is he with Jues', SHAKSPEARE, *Ado.* II, 1, 51 'he is attended with a desperate train', *Caes.* III. 2, 197 *Aed.* 'He's coming.' *Brut.* 'How accompanied?' *Aed.* 'With old Menenius.' It will be seen

⁷⁰ Cf. Hittle, *op. cit.*, p. 166 ff.

that the idea denoted by *with* may be felt as mere participation in something by a person, intensified to agency. SHAKSPERE, by the way, still employs *with* even in the function of the intermediary, something which has since become rare, *Err. V. 1*, 230 'he did arrest me with', i. e. by means of, an officer, *Hy 6, B. I. 3*, 33 'send for his master with a pursuivant'.⁷¹ Nor is the immediate author, as in Tennyson's 'vex'd with a morbid devil in his blood', usual; cf. the biblical *Lk. 7, 24*—GOT. *raus fram winda wagid*, AGS. *hreoð ðe byþ mid winde āstryred*, WYCLIFFE, 'wawid with the wynd',—SCANDINAVIAN *af*: ICEL. *af vindið skekinn*, SWED. *af wädret*, DAN. *af Veiret*.

48. It will have been noticed that in the foregoing paragraphs the chief care has been to locate the original force of the prepositions and to trace their evolution into the proximate agent; what specific case-forms each combined with to express this function, was held only of secondary importance. Thus, it is irrelevant to the discussion that Anglo-Saxon *mid* may 'govern' not only the dative and the instrumental, but the accusative as well. On the other hand, attention was drawn to the fact that the prepositions were originally local in application and that according to the nature of this locality they became connected with a dative representing either an ablative or an instrumental, or even with survived instrumental forms. The DIRECTIVE PREPOSITION (1) **purh*, next to be considered, is one which has largely accusative connections; that in Anglo-Saxon, for instance, we find also the dative and genitive with it, is immaterial at this point. GOTHIC *pairh*, AGS. *purh*, OHG. *duruh*, mod. *durch*, denotes at first simple entrance, passing, piercing through a resisting space or object, as *T. 113 ingangan thuruh thia engun phorta*, *Mk. 10, 25 pairh pairko neplos galeiþan* διὰ τῆς τρυμαλιᾶς τῆς ῥαφίδος εἰσελθεῖν, ÆLFRIC, *Gr. 47 ðurh ða duru wē gād*. Once conceived causally, it comes to express not only the instrument of the action, as AGS. *Gen. 453 hē gefērde purh feóndes cræfte*, *Beow. 557 fornam . . . purh mine hand*, GOT. *Mk. 6, 2 ei mahteis swaleikos pairh handuns is*

⁷¹ Franz, *Shakespeare-Grammatik*², p. 419.

wairpand, but the intermediate person responsible for the action, as well as the actual agent with passives. We meet thus in GOTHIC with examples like *Jh. 14, 6 ainshun ni qimip at attin, niba pairh mik di' emou*, 1, *Cor. 15, 2 pairh patei jah ganisip di' ou kai souseso*, but also *Mt. 27, 9 panuh usfullnoda pata qipano pairh Iairaimian praufetau qipandan to rhen dia Ieremiu prophetau*, *Mt. 8, 17 pata gamelido pairh Esaian praufetu qipandan*, *Lk. 18, 31 pata gamelido pairh praufetuns*, 2. *Cor. 1, 11 so giba pairh managans awiliudodau dia pollon eucharisthē*. HIGH GERMAN instances of agency, *T. 112 thiū dar giscriban sint thuruh thie uuizagon*, 13, 5 *uueralt uuard thuruh inan gitan*; so *T. 5, 9, Is. 2, 1, Is. 3, 3 etc.*⁷² Also *Nib. 527, 3 der Guntheres sal wart bezimbert durch manegen fremden man*, *Brant, Narrensch. 13, 60 Danae entpfing nit durch das gott*, *Luther, 2 Chron. 23, 18 durch David getihtet*. ANGLO-SAXON—*Cynew. El. 1153 wæs se witedom purh fyrnwitan sunen*, *Sax. Chron. 1014 wearð þæt earne folc þus beswicen purh hine*, 1123 *ðis wæs eall ear gedon ðurh se bisceop of Seresbyrig & purh se biscop of Lincolne*, *Wulfst. 54, 12 ðurh deofol forlæred*, *Ælfred, Or. 10, 23 ac heo wearð gescild purh þone cristnan casere*, *Ælfric (Kluge, Les. 57, 145.) hi wurdon gehælede purh þone hālgan wer*, and later, *Orrm. 16084 þatt wass don þurh Jesu Crist*, *Laj. I. 13 þorh him heo sculden deizen*, *RG. 9779 þe churche was ifounded þoru Henri*, *Town. M. 273 what thyng is done thrughe wykyd Jues*. Finally, a comparison of *Mt. 2, 5—purh ðone witegan* in *Corpus*, *bi a prophete* in *Wycliffe*—gives the following for the SCANDINAVIAN dialects, Danish and Norw. *ved*, Swed. *genom Propheten*, but Icelandic, *er ritað af spámanninum*; *Mt. 2, 17 af* in all, but Icelandic, *sem mælt er fyrir Jeremías*; however, 8, 17, Dan. Norw. *ved*, Swed. *genom*, Icel. *fyrir*; again *Lk. 18, 31 Dan. ved*, Swed. *af Propheterna*, Norw. *ved*, Icel. *af spámönnunum*,—showing how opinions diverge in some instances as to the conception of a mediate or of a proximate agent.

49. (2) **To*—English *to* is the only one to interest us.

⁷² Incidentally I fail to see any compelling reason for the change in *Is. 25, 21* (ed. Weinhold) of *fona to sô êr bifora uuardh chichundit DHURAH dhen forasagun*.

I am not disinclined to hold the combination of the passive verb with a prepositional phrase of agency introduced by *to*, to be an analytic restatement of the older synthetic dative of interest in the function of the agent. Instances like CHAUCER, II. 71 'to whom bothe heven and erthe and see is sene', IV. 262 'and his comynge unwiste is tevery, i. e. to every, wight', would thus be based on earlier native usage. It is with respect to the fixation of the term 'early native usage' that a few words remain to be said, since it would mislead one as to the nature of the dative of agency. Einkenkel⁷³ evidently is still on the working basis of the old dative of interest, hence in the danger of gathering too much under that category. After what has been said in §4 ff., we might pass over this point with the remark that the GOT. *patei razn mein razn bido haitada allaim piudom*, cited by him as a parallel, may indeed be a dative of interest at bottom, but that care must now be exercised in differentiating from similar examples those datives of agency which derive their origin from the lost instrumental, among which one must class, because of testimony in §§9 and 10, Wulfst., *for þæra gebeorge, þe him (Gode) syn gecorene*, cited by him for one of the former variety. With this proviso in mind, we can here suggest two distinct, though related, sources of the later *to*-phrase. There are to be found, namely, not only personal datives of the type of *Beow. feor-cyððe beoð selran gesohte þæm þe him selfa deah*, Wulfst. *þonne bið us gesawen þæt us ær gesæd was*, *Cyn. El. þa weard on slæpe . . . sigero-fum gesegen swefnes woma*, *ibid. bið þæt beacen gode halig nemned*, cf. also GOTH. *Mk. 11, 17* above and *Rom. 7, 10 bigitana warþ mis anabusns*—but there are also combinations of such datives with gerundives, conceived of as passives because of the context, e. g. ANGLO-SAXON, *Oros. 292, 28 se ealdormon hie betæhte lyprum monnum to healdonne*, 296, 1 *he hie betakte his twæm ealdormonnum to bewitanne*, *C. P. 276, 17 to wundianne his feondum*, *Ps. 38, 10 þu me sealdest to bysmrianne þam unrihtwisan*. There are similar instances in OHG. also, *Otfr. 2, 9, 55 in thiū wari follon zi*

⁷³ *Streifzüge*, p. 219, and *Syntax in Pauls Grdr.* I, 1086.

erkennenne mannon, 2, 8, 27 *thâr stuantun wazarfaz thên mannon sih zi wasganne*, *T.* 68, 3 *thiu erloubit ni uuarun imo zi ezzane, nîbi then einun heithaftun mannon*; so the GOTHIC, *Mk.* 2, 26 *þanzei ni skuld ist matjan nîba ainaim gudjam*, AGS. *þe him ne âlyfede nâron tō etanne, būton sâcerdon ānum*, to which cf. *Ps.* 16, 14 *hi eton swynenflæsc, þæt Judeum unalyfedlic ys to etanne*. Other GOTHIC instances, *Mt.* 6, 1 *du saihuan im*, *Lk.* 2, 6 *usfullnodedun dagos du bairan izai*. The dative, no doubt, belonged originally to the predicate of the sentence, but became in a natural way, through the ἀπὸ κοινοῦ construction, attached to the infinitive and became its logical subject.

50. As to the transition of this dative, of either source, into the Middle English *to*-phrase, one only has to think of the many past participles that could be used for adjectives and of the adjectives that had a semi-verbal force. If MILTON can say, *P. L.* 3, 54 'invisible to mortal sight', 9, 1086 'highest words impenetrable to star or sunlight', just as we say today, 'inaccessible to wrong', 'impassable to the wicked', so already in AGS. we find *Sax. Chron.* 1011 *þæt wæs un-āsecgendlic ænigum mēnn*, *Oros.* 214, 21 *hit is us uncuð & ungeliefedlic*, *Be.* 549, 15 *gesynelice eallum mannum*, 552, 17 *menniscum eage ungesewenlice*, verbal adjectives as against *Wulfst.* *þonne bið us gesawen*, an adjectival participle. The same idea is expressed by means of the identical verbal root in two ways in *Be.* 504, 30 *forþferde ða Gode se leofe fæder Agustinus*, but 3, 14 *he wæs fram eallum monnum lufad*,⁷⁴ and *Beow.* 1255 *þæt gesyne wearþ, widcuþ werum*, but *Mt.* 6, 18 *þæt þū ne sý gesewen fram mannum fæstende*. Interesting is *Lk.* 8, 27 *Gode synd mihtelice þā þing þe mannum synd unmihtelice*, when *Lk.* 1, 37 has *nys ælc word mid Gode unmihtelic*.

51. This ends our investigation. The concrete results thereof lie, of course, in the details of the discussion which treats of the inner development and outer history of the individual prepositions. For the former, it must again be

⁷⁴ *Ælfric*, *wearð ða him inweardlice gelufod*, *Sweet's Reader*, 14 A. 16, is instrumental dative.

emphasized that, just as the instrumental and causal domains border hard on each other and partly pass into each other, so causality and authorship are distinctions but of degree and not of kind. This may be regarded as absolutely axiomatic. As for the latter, namely the varying fortunes of the auctorial prepositions, especial attention is requested to the question of foreign influence on Middle English and to the attempt made to fix the status of the bare dative of agency in Old High German with respect to the phrase introduced by the preposition *fona*. To these may be added a further, and somewhat obvious, observation, viz. the extraordinary tendency in English not only to multiply the uses of prepositions but, conversely, to multiply the prepositions in a given use. We have noted fully seven prepositions, employed either simultaneously or divided at no distant periods, to express the logical subject of passive verbs. This is a fact; the *why* and the *wherefore* of it, however, is shrouded in that will-o'-the-wisp play and counterplay of psychological forces which, for want of better understanding, we term 'processes of linguistic consciousness.' Whence the necessity of supplanting *purh* with *fram*? Why the substitution of *by* for *of*? Wherein lies the superior service of one over the other? These are questions we must perforce leave here unanswered. One assumption however, gathered in the course of study, may be risked with reasonable certainty: just as the loss of the traditional distinctions between, let us say, the dative, ablative and instrumental qualities in Latin *equō* necessarily brought about the clearer presentation of these respective ideas by means of satisfactory prepositions, so the confusion resulting from the co-existence of the several auctorial phrases must of itself have demanded a gradual clearing-up. Undoubtedly, the same syntactic notion being, as we have seen, variously expressed by various prepositions gave rise to different determinations of the same idea, all depending upon the viewpoint embodied in the original signification of the prepositions, —yet, were not the final results absolutely identical? It is here that the economy of expression we mentioned in the introductory remarks, stepped in and reaffirmed the progressive tendency of language by the destruction of synonymity and the

creation of clearness out of chaos: first *purh* begins to lose ground, then *fram* follows suit, and then *of* gives way to *by*, which becomes the modern preposition of agency through the gradual supersession of all its competitors. It is no mere empty phrase that in language, too, we have a struggle for existence and a survival of the fittest. Only, it must ever be remembered that 'language' means the mentality of the people speaking it and that the human mind abhors abstruseness.

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